175 Because there was an aversion against the Russians, who were regarded as a completely different people in ideology and cultural background, the Finns, on all levels of society, were
● 186 reluctant to mingle with them. The national movement, which began in the first half of the nineteenth century, had as its slogan: "We are not Swedes, we can never become Russians, let us be Finns!" The greatest source of inspiration for this movement was the appearance of the
[538] Kalevala, the Finnish national epos, in 1835. Apart from Christianity and the reformation, it was the most important thing that had ever
186 happened to the Finns. National self-esteem
•191 was greatly elevated, and the Finnish language, which had been looked down upon as a tongue of the backwoods, was glorified as magical

186 and beautiful, able to produce works of art
191 parallel to those of the ancient Greeks. The Finnish literary language was reformed, and in a surprisingly short time it developed to a rich, flexible, modern idiom. Literature, painting and music flourished at the inspiration of the ancient poems. The educated classes turned back to the language of their ancestors; there was a fervent study of Finnish, and a Finnish-speaking educated class was established.

186 Later on, the Swedish family names were abandoned en masse, and Finnish ones--often the original names of the families--were adopted instead. At the head of the national movement was Johan Wilhelm Snellman, philosopher and politician, one of the great names in the history of Finland. As a senator he

186 effected a law under the liberal and respected Czar Alexander II, according to which Finnish was to be established as an official language, side by side with Swedish, to be used in education, administration and jurisdiction.

As a whole the nineteenth century was the most peaceful phase in the history of Finland. It represents a period of inner growth and 175 economic and cultural development. But the last years of the century were ominous. In Russia a chauvinistic, pan-Slavic movement was rising, and the special position of Finland was looked upon with distaste. Then the blow fell, under the reign of Nicholas II in February, 1899. The Czar issued a manifest requiring the decisions of the Finnish senate to be approved by the Russian government. In effect this

these movements sometimes showed chauvinsitic tendencies; e. g., a resentment towards Sweden was rife among the Finnish-speaking students as a result of language controversies in their own country. Perhaps because of the isolated position of Finland, there have been few prejudices against foreigners as individuals. Furthermore, the aversion towards Russia and the Russians has, on the whole, been almost identical with Finnish nationalism.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1r,

Sociological Background

ATTITUDES AND REACTIONS OF THE PEOPLE

•/86 As a whole the Finns are an extremely patriotic nation, deeply attached to their country and to their homes. The rise of Finland as an independent power is based on the nationalistic movements of the previous century, and a strong idealism used to be apparent in public life: "everything for the country, everything for the people." These were by no means empty words; being realists, the Finns were well aware that their nation could exist only by wholehearted effort on the part of its people, but they had faith that even a small nation could survive if it relied on its own resources and "remained faithful to itself." The spirit of confidence and

0/86 of sacrifice was at its height during the Finnish-Russian Winter War, when the entire outside world was expecting Finland to succumb at any moment.

186 727 Since the last war there has been a change in the general attitude. The first post-war years were gloomy and full of apprehension approaching disaster, in view of what was happening to the other small nations in Europe who appeared to be mere pawns in the hands of more powerful nations. In the foreign presses the Finns were alternately praised and ridiculed. In all layers of Finnish society this unhappy period led to a materialistic viewpoint and a turning away from patriotic and nationalistic sympathies. This spiritual emptiness was especially prevalent among the university students and other young intellectuals who had been strongly

•/86 [727] influenced by the former nationalistic enthusiasm and had suffered relatively greater losses during the war than any other group of Finns.

But in spite of this post-war pessimism they set to work energetically to pay their war indemnity to Russia, to settle their refugees and to heal their other war wounds. Today there are hardly any visible signs of the war, not even in Lappland which was completely devastated by the retreating German troops. The post-war achievements of the Finns are the more noticeable as they have been attained without any Marshall Plan Aid--although foreign loans have been available--and in the midst of inner friction and economic difficulties. The prevailing desire of the Finns is to retain their complete independence, and most Finns believe that their resolution to fight rather than to yield anything

•/86 voluntarily was a wise one, in spite of all their bitter losses and sacrifices. But the Finns are fully aware of their precarious situation, living on the edge of a volcano, so to speak, and of their helplessness in case of a fresh disaster.

665 All the same, the people seem surprisingly calm
578 and self-possessed; panic and nervousness, they know, will not improve the situation anyway.

The inner frictions in the country, referred to above, have been caused by different groups of people pursuing their own selfish interests. So, the farmers and the workers tend repeatedly to conflict in domestic matters. The agrarians have been the leading party in most of the post-war governments, and they have made themselves unpopular in the eyes of both the intellectuals and the laboring class, who criticize them because of the high taxes and low wages and

665 [578] unwise policies which specifically promote the interests of the farmers. In the realm of foreign politics, however, there are few differences of opinion. 641 Most of the Finns feel that the decisions made by the government at various times have been the only possible decisions. Lately there has been some indication of a rising opposition to the narrow and selfish programs of the political parties and an emphasis on the importance of a more idealistic attitude for the future of the whole country. There is no doubt that patriotic feelings are still strong among the Finnish people.

●/82 533 The national movement in the nineteenth century gave rise to fine patriotic poetry and music. The national anthem of Finland, Maamme 'Our Land,' first sung in the students' May festival in 1848, appeared as the opening

•/86 poem in Runeberg's collection, The Tales of
583 the Ensign Stål. For a national anthem it is a very modest one, although full of praise of the beauty of the Finnish landscape and hopes of a brighter future for the country and its people. Another inspiring song from the same collection is Porilaisten marssi 'The March of the Pori Regiment,' set to the music of a fine military march born at the time of the Finnish-Russian war of 1808-09, and at present the march of honor for the whole Finnish Army. These songs were forbidden during the Russian oppression at the beginning of this century, and the same fate befell Sibelius' tone poem, spontaneously named Finlandia by the people, who immediately understood its message and its potential influence. There exists a multitude of popular patriotic songs and marches, some of them originating

186 as long ago as the Thirty Years' War period.
533 Patriotic festivals and military parades are very serious occasions for the Finns, and the whole audience often spontaneously joins in the national anthem; however, at moments of special danger or severity, such as the time of the outbreak of the Winter War and the negotiations preceding it, Our Land was, by silent agreement, substituted by Luther's battle hymn A Mighty Fortress is Our God, which has special significance for the Finns.

186 The Finnish colors, blue and white, originated as the emblem of the national Finnish party during the last century, and after Finland became independent they were established as the colors of the Finnish flag: a blue cross on a white field (all the Northern countries have cross flags). The Army and the State banner, in addition,

•/82 contain the ancient coat-of-arms of Finland. This emblem was given to Finland by a Swedish king at the end of the sixteenth century in acknowledgement of a successful war against Russia. It consists of an upright, crowned golden lion standing on a red field, treading with its hind legs an Eastern crooked sabre and holding a straight Western sword in its harnessed right hand. The field of the coat-of-arms is scattered with nine silver roses, symbolizing the nine historical provinces of Finland. The coat-of-arms was formerly topped with a Grand Ducal crown, but after Finland became an independent republic, this feature was removed. The nine historical provinces have their own coats-of-arms, most of them originating during the Middle Ages and revealing interesting symbolic features. The motive of the two swords

•/86 occurs also in the coat-of-arms of Karelia, symbolizing the never-ending battle of East and West over this area.

563 The Swedish-speaking minority--which, it is to be remembered, is not a minority in the legal or constitutional meaning of the word--has shown a patriotism and loyalty no less strong than that of the Finnish-speaking part of the population. Of course, they are always jealously guarding themselves against Finnish influence, and, for example, have seen to it that no Karelian refugees have settled in those communes which are predominantly Swedish-speaking. The Government usually is quite considerate of the interests of the Swedish-speaking group, and this part of the population still has an influence much more important than would be concluded from its small number.